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## DOCUMENTS

### *Secret Reports of John Howe, 1808, II.*

#### IX. HOWE TO PREVOST.<sup>1</sup>

*Sir,*

The same pleasure which I found at first in passing thro' New England, I had renewed with increased satisfaction, on finding that the opposition to the measures pursued by the Government was daily gaining ground; and I was assured by very respectable Men in the sea-ports in Connecticut that whole districts had agreed to wait until the Meeting of Congress in November in expectation that the Embargo would be then removed, but if it was not then taken off, they have determined to open the Trade themselves.

At Boston I found the same disposition still more strongly manifested; the discussions at the Town Meeting for the suspension of the Embargo,<sup>2</sup> had been very warm, and the measures of the government censured with a Freedom and severity unprecedented. Similar Town Meetings are assembling in most of the Towns in New England. The Leaders of the Democratic Party have handed about a counter petition, and transmitted it to the President. This example the other Towns where Democracy prevails, are following; but none believe the President will suspend the Embargo, till the Meeting of Congress; beyond that period I do not think it will be in the power of the Government to enforce it. The Revolution which has taken place in Spain, and bids fair to effect the Independence of South America, has excited a great desire in these Northern States, to open a commercial intercourse with that part of the American Continent. The resources which South America opens to Great Britain, and the demand which that trade must make for her manufactures, has fully convinced many in this Country who were before attached to the Embargo, of the folly of any longer continuing it. They are now convinced that there is more danger of ruining themselves, than there is probability of destroying the Manufactures of Great Britain. Could Mr. Jefferson and the Party connected with him see any prospect of effecting the latter object, there is no privation they would not submit to to effect it; nor do I think a cordial reconciliation between the two Countries can be effected, while the present ruling Party continues in power.

The Federal Party is composed of Men of the greatest property in the Country, and of the most respectable Talent, and Characters.

Since my return to New England my hopes are revived that Mr. Madison will not be elected to the Presidency; In the Calculation of votes, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison reckoned on New-Hampshire,

<sup>1</sup> This letter concludes the series of Howe's reports written during his first journey. It was written early in September, 1808, as is shown by internal evidence. Apparently it was written from Boston, in the course of the writer's return to Halifax.

<sup>2</sup> Town meeting of August 9. For the petition addressed by it to President Jefferson, see Boston Record Commissioners, *Thirty-fifth Report*, p. 238.

Rhode Island and Vermont; the Elections of the two former have been Federal and scarce a doubt is entertained that Vermont will be the same. If Governor Sullivan does not put a negative on the choice of Electors for Massachusetts, all the votes of New-England will then be in favor of a Federal President. If he does negative the choice of the Legislature, which many think he will not have the temerity to do, he will excite such an irritation as will not be easily suppressed.<sup>3</sup>

If the issue of the Elections, and the enquiries as to the strength of their party should furnish a probability to the Federalists that they might with safety name Candidates for the Presidency, it is the wish at Boston to nominate Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of North Carolina as President, and Rufus King as Vice President; if they cannot run them with a probability of success, they will then agree with a strong party at New York, who wish to bring in Governor Clinton as Presid[en]t and Mr. Monroe as Vice Presdt.

The Embargo has completely federalised all the New-England States, and may eventually lead to a division of the Southern and Northern States, and such is the difference of sentiments and habits between them, and the acrimony with which they speak of each other, that such an event is by no means improbable, and indeed many openly express their wish that it may take place.

The meeting of Congress in November is now looked forward to by all parties with the greatest anxiety; it is agreed by all, that some change in the system will then take place. Though Congress in its ensuing Session will be composed of the same members it was at its last Meeting, yet the late Elections in New England have shewn by their choice of different persons for the New Congress in March, that they disapprove of the conduct of the present men, and they, whatever may be their wishes, must in some measure sacrifice them to the evident change in Public Opinion.

The Recruiting for the 6000 Men goes on very slowly indeed, though recruiting parties are now beating up in all the principal Towns, and though so many people are thrown out of Employment by the Embargo.

The Publications of Sir F. Baring, Mr. Roscoe, and the Speech of Mr. Brougham before the House of Commons, with the Ex: parte Evidence of Mr. Glennie and others,<sup>4</sup> have done infinite mischief in America. This last book I found in the hands of many at Baltimore, and it furnished conversation in all companies. The Friends of the Administration, and they are very numerous in Baltimore and Virginia seized upon it as a complete vindication of the Measures of the President, and as furnishing a hope, that they should by a Continuance of the Embargo, and the foolish story of Manufactures so materially injure Great Britain as to compel her to repeal the Orders in Council, give up the

<sup>3</sup> See Amory's *Life of James Sullivan*, II. 300-303, 311-312.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Baring (not Sir Francis), *An Inquiry into the Causes and Consequences of the Orders in Council, and an Examination of the Conduct of Great Britain towards the Neutral Commerce of America* (London, 1808, several editions); William Roscoe, *Considerations on the Causes, Objects, and Consequences of the Present War* (London, 1808, several editions); *The Speech of Henry Brougham, Esq., before the House of Commons, Friday, April 1, 1808 . . . against the Orders in Council* (London, 1808, several editions); *Evidence before the House of Commons, on the Petitions of London and Manchester Merchants, respecting the Orders in Council* (London, 1808).

right of search for Seamen, and suffer their Flag to Cover all their impositions.

When I visited this Country 19 years ago, I found a great rage for Manufactures; there were several on a very extensive scale; on my present I enquired after these Manufactures, and found they had long since ceased to exist. There cannot be a greater burlesque than to talk of manufacturing in a country where twice as much is to be obtained from the export of their raw materials as they can gain by manufacturing them; where more than two thirds of the Lands are still uncultivated; and where a common labourer can earn from a Dollar to a Dollar and half per day.

At Salem, Boston, New-York, Philadelphia and Baltimore I have witnessed the rapid increase of wealth to all engaged in the India Trade which Great Britain had granted them under Mr. Jay's Treaty, to the great injury of our East India Company by Smuggling into our Islands, and into every part of our Territory, where they have intercourse, immense quantities of India goods.

The disposition of the present Government in America, in its enmity to Great Britain and its partiality to France is manifest by all its actions. An instance occurred a few days before I left Boston: The British ship *Minerva* from Liverpool with salt etc., after discharging her cargo, took in ballast, cleared out for Passamaquoddy to load there with Lumber and was dropping down the Harbour, when she was boarded and seized by the Marshall for having procured three new gun carriages, and two or three boarding Pikes. She was libelled before I left Boston, for arming in the United States. As a contrast, two French Privateers, one of which had taken the *Duke of Montrose* Packet, were accommodated in every way with repairs and supplies. I have the honor to be etc., etc., etc.

[Signed] JOHN HOWE.

His Excellency

Lt. Genl. Sir G. Prevost Bt.  
etc., etc., etc.

[Endorsed:] In Sr. G. Prevosts  
Letter to Mr. Cooke  
23 Sept. 1808

[Copy]

#### X. QUERIES AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR HOWE.<sup>5</sup>

No. 1. To ascertain in each of the Governments of the United States whether any Foreign influence prevails therein, and the name of the State, Nation or Country on behalf of which, such influence appears; if possible also find out, the persons and Channels whereby such influence is exerted or Carried on, and by what means, whether by bribery and personal advantages held out, or by Commercial and other national benefits proposed.

No. 2. Ascertain the names of the Persons who appear to be the most leading characters, or who have the most influence in each of the United States, and how the influence of one State preponderates with that of another; also which of the States possesses the largest share of power in the General Government.

<sup>5</sup> These were prepared for Howe's second journey. See the introduction, pp. 73, 74.

No. 3. Ascertain what proportion the two contending parties in America, namely the Federalists and democrats bear to each other.

No. 4. Ascertain in what proportion the Federalists incline towards the interest of Great Britain or France in the present War, so in like manner the proportion of the Democrats who expouse the Cause of either nation.

No. 5. To ascertain whether the present election for President and Vice President has caused any disension in either of the Federalists or democratic parties, and if any such appears the particular Causes which have produced the same.

No. 6. To ascertain whether the elections for the New Congress afford any reasonable prospect that either the Federalist or democratic party will gain an increase of Strength at the meeting of such Congress, greater than the same party held in the old one, also to mark the States in which an alteration of opinion has given rise to such change, and if possible to ascertain the causes of such alteration.

No. 7. To ascertain whether any, and what alteration has taken place since the last meeting of Congress in the strength of the Federalist and Democratic parties, as it existed in those bodies the last session, and in favor of which Side such alteration if any appears to be also whether there is any thing like a third party appearing in either house of congress which does not take a decided part with either of the before-mentioned parties.

No. 8. To ascertain the probable effect of the election now about to close in America,<sup>6</sup> and how far the interests of Great Britain or France have been benefited or deteriorated by that event.

No. 9. To mark particularly whether the opinions of the President of the United States have undergone any, and what alteration since the last meeting of Congress, whether from his public communication to the Congress at the new Meeting, or in any other way he appears to waver from the measures which he so strenuously pursued at the last meeting, or whether he still appears determined to persevere in the same line of conduct.

No. 10. To ascertain the general reasons assigned as the causes of hostility to Great Britain by those in America who are inimically inclined towards her.

No. 11. Likewise the general reasons assigned by those who support the interests of France as the cause of their partiality to that Country.

No. 12. Ascertain what measures are generally considered by those unfriendly to Great Britain as most likely if adopted by America, to prove most injurious to her, so on the other hand what measures as considered by the friends of Great Britain as most likely to promote her interests if carried into effect in America, and what Steps would be most likely to counteract the measures of the one or to promote the views of the other.

No. 13. To ascertain whether any and what measures if adopted by Great Britain at the present moment would have a tendency to influence in her favor, either of the parties into which the different houses of congress are at present divided.

No. 14. Find out how the general opinion in America has been affected by the recent events in Spain and Portugal, and what consequence would probably result from the measure if Great Britain had

<sup>6</sup> The autumnal elections of 1808.

sufficient influence with the Governments of those Countries to stop any commercial intercourse between them and the United States; enquire whether the alliance between Great Britain, and Spain and Portugal is not considered as a powerful advantage to Great Britain in case of a War with the United States, and whether such alliance is not on that account likely to render the United States more apprehensive of a War with Great Britain.

No. 15. To ascertain whether the Government of America receives any public accredited Agents from the present Governments of Spain or Portugal, or if any Secret intercourse appears to exist between that Government and those Countries in their present state and whether the Agents of the old Governments of those Countries still continue to exercise their respective functions under the Government of America, and remark whether any and what alteration has taken place in that respect.

No. 16. To ascertain whether the change in the Government of Spain has excited any [and] what apprehensions in the American Government respecting the acquisition of Louisiana, and whether any increase of the Naval and Military force of America has taken place in that quarter in consequence of recent events.

No. 17. Ascertain in what proportion each State has suffered in consequence of the General Embargo, and how each state is disposed as to the propriety of continuing that Measure, also whether there is any probability if the Embargo should be persevered in by the General Congress of the Country, that it would be openly resisted by any and which of the States, enquire whether it is apprehended that a resistance to the Embargo would probably lead to a separation of the United States, whether a separation is wished by any political,<sup>7</sup> or by any State in particular, whether a separation is considered as an event very injurious to the Country at large.

No. 18. Has America suffered any and what loss or inconvenience from the execution of the Laws prohibiting the importation of certain manufactures from Great Britain, and whether there is any probability of this measure being still continued, also to ascertain how Great Britain by prohibiting any particular branch of commerce to America could best retaliate for such unfriendly conduct, and whether and what states have particularly suffered loss from the operation of the non importation System from Great Britain.

No. 19. To ascertain the probability of the continuance of the Embargo, also the motives from which that Measure originated, namely whether as a measure to promote the individual interests of America, or as one friendly or unfriendly to the interests of Great Britain or France, and how far the interests of either nation has been particularly affected by that measure in the general opinion of the people of America.

No. 20. Ascertain what Measures the friends of France wish America to undertake as most likely to serve her interests, and what measures those who are not amicably inclined to France, consider would be most injurious to her, if carried into effect by America, also how far it is in the power of Great Britain by any proceeding on her part to prevent the one or to forward the other.

No. 21. Ascertain how far those who compose the General Govern

<sup>7</sup> Sc. party.

ment of America, or what States in particular are disposed openly to engage in War with either Great Britain or France, and what proportion the advocates for open war, bear to those who are generally for pacific measures.

No. 22. To ascertain what proportion the advocates for open War with Great Britain, bear to those who are inclined to War with France.

No. 23. To ascertain what measures if adopted by Great Britain would have a tendency to influence the Opinion of America, so as to give a preponderating weight to the cause of Great Britain in opposition to that of France; what circumstances, or what conduct on the part of Great Britain or France is likely to produce an immediate rupture with either power.

No. 24. To ascertain whether the measures adopted by Great Britain towards the United States of America since the last meeting of congress appear generally to have made a favorable or unfavorable impression on the minds of the people of that Country, and whether there yet appears in the general Opinions anything further which they think should be yielded by Great Britain.

No. 25. To ascertain how the recent orders of His Majesty in Council respecting the intercourse of neutral nations with France are generally considered in America, whether they are viewed as a measure particularly hostile to America, or as one resulting of necessity from the previous unlawful prohibitions of neutral commerce on the part of France, what injury has been suffered by the late orders of Council and by what States in particular.

No. 26. To ascertain whether the extention of His Majesty's Orders to a prohibition of Neutral Commerce with the Colonies of His Majestys enemies, would have any and what influence on the public mind in America.

No. 27. To ascertain the Amount of the regular Military Force of America, now in actual pay, and to what extent of preparation the same has attained so as to fit it for actual Service.

No. 28. To ascertain what provision has been made for the increase of the regular Military Establishments of America, and how far such measures have been attended with success or otherwise; whether any and what new measures are in contemplation for that purpose, and as far as possible to ascertain the probable success likely to attend the steps now in operation, as well as those likely to be adopted in future for the same end.

No. 29. To ascertain the number of Militia mustered in each state, how organized and disciplined for Military Service, also how far the Militia of each state are furnished with Arms and other necessary equipments to enable them to take the field, and what quantity of Arms are supposed to be in the United States.

No. 30. To ascertain whether any and what measures have been taken in each, or any State to place any and what proportion of the general body of the Militia, at the disposal of Government, and whether any and what Steps have been adopted to prepare select body in a better, and more effectual state of equipment for actual service than those are in who compose the general mass of the Militia.

No. 31. To ascertain whether any and what draft either under the description of Volunteers or otherwise have been made in any and which of the States for the purpose of being fitted and prepared for actual

Service, and the extent of forwardness to which such preparations have been carried.

No. 32. To ascertain how the regular Army of America is at present distributed, where the principal bodies of that force are now stationed and to ascertain the same points respecting the Militia if any part thereof shall appear to be embodied and called into actual Service; how and by what description of persons the regular army and the Militia of the States are Officered, whether of the Federal or democratic parties, whether disposed to War with Great Britain or France, and whether under the influence of France, whether they have seen service, whether much confidence is placed in them, and who are considered as the most able Officers; whether the people in general are disposed to Volunteer or enlist, or whether they have any dislike to Military Service.

No. 33. To ascertain what Military Fortifications are now carrying on in the United States, the places where such works are in operation, the general extent of the same, and how far they are calculated as a defence from an attack either by Sea or by land.

No. 34. To ascertain the extent of the Naval force now actually employed in the Service of the United States, and to what extent with the present existing means the same could probably be increased within a period of Six Months.

No. 35. To find where the principal Arsenals of the United States are situated, how fortified and defended from attack either by sea or land, and whether any extraordinary or unusual degree of activity appears to prevail therein, whether any new arsenals are forming and Naval Stores collecting, or any contracts entered into for that purpose.

No. 36. To ascertain what ideas are entertained as to the feasibility and mode of attacking Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and whether by Sea or land, whether the inhabitants of those provinces, or any or what part of them are considered as having any partiality for or attachment to the United States, whether it is supposed that there is any disposition to favor or assist the United States in case of War, with Great Britain, or to Separate from Great Britain and enter into the confederacy of the United States.

[Copy.]

[Endorsed:] Queries and Instructions  
to Mr. Howe.

In Sir George Prevost's  
of 30th Nov.<sup>8</sup>

#### XI. HOWE TO PREVOST.

BOSTON November 16th 1808

[Copy.]

Sir,

I have the honor to acquaint Your Excellency, that I arrived at Boston, on the evening of the 14th Instant. It rained so excessively Yesterday that I had it not in my power to do much, except call in the morning at the Custom house with Lieut: Bury, to report our arrival, and that I was the bearer of Dispatches to the British Minister. We

<sup>8</sup> 1808.

were treated very politely, and Mr Skinner who accompanied us, was informed that he was at liberty to furnish such Provisions as the *Cuttle* Might need during her stay.

I have today collected the Newspapers the Contents of which your Excellency will find extremely interesting. The President's speech has already become the subject of just and severe animadversion here. It is descriptive of a circle, which his own Artifices have thrown around him, and from which he knows not how to extricate himself. After wasting the Season in sending Messenger after Messenger to France, and knowing that he could not meet Congress without some appearance on his part of a pretended wish for a *reconciliation* with England, the Schooner *Hope* was at length dispatched to England, after the return of the *Osage*. The Letter of Mr. Pinckney to Mr. Canning, presented on the arrival of the *Hope* in England, Your Excellency will find among the papers I now transmit you.<sup>9</sup> Mr. Canning's Note in reply, is replete with the most happy Irony, and is at the same time so dignified and decisive, as completely to defeat the insidious proposal of Mr. Pinckney, and to shew to the American Government, that Great Britain neither fears its hostility, nor very anxiously courts its friendship.

The intentions of Mr. Jefferson in consequence are already manifest in the Resolutions brought forward in Congress, by his Son in Law Mr. Eppes,<sup>10</sup> who proposes a non intercourse Law to put a stop to all intercourse between the Countries; and in addition to this, to place at the President's disposal a large body of the Militia, as supplementary to 100,000 which were liable to be called out by the Resolutions of Congress adopted in their last Session. These proposals have already excited the deepest sensations here, where the evil of the Embargo itself has become too intolerable to be borne; but Mr. Eppes's proposal to draw the cord still tighter, if carried into effect will most assuredly hasten a crisis, to which the Embargo itself is fast precipitating this ill fated Country.

In expectation that Congress would take off the Embargo, a great number of Vessels, both here, and in the neighbouring harbours have been fitted for sea. Several ships have sailed from hence to the Southern States, to be ready to take in freight; and a spirit preparatory to future enterprize, was beginning to shew itself every where. The expectation of the owners of these Vessels is now in a fair way to be blasted, and a spirit of indignation is already manifesting itself in a way that indicates an interesting issue to be at no great distance. At Portland, a Ship and two Brigs, have gone to sea with Cargoes, in defiance of the *Wasp* Sloop of War, which had been sent there to prevent them. Several have also sailed from Cape Ann, and a Brig and another Vessel, sailed in the same manner four nights ago from Cape Cod, loaded with Fish. The Brig was seen and fired at by one of the Gunboats, but she went off in defiance of her.

The General Assembly of this State is now in Session. The Electors for President are already chosen, and are all Federal; and fearing the Governor, should negative their choice, the Legislature were the whole day Yesterday debating the Question whether the Governor had any right of interference, and though both the Letter of the constitution, and the former practice under it, determine that he has, they have now

<sup>9</sup> Pinckney's letter of August 23, 1808, is in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 228; Canning's reply of September 23, *ibid.*, 231.

<sup>10</sup> Eppes's resolutions, offered November 10, 1808.

decided that he has not. Thus it is that the power of party in this Country, batters down all the mounds their Constitution has established, and though they by this means accomplish their present purpose, it is establishing a precedent, which will at some future time, stare them in the face, where they have some other favorite object in pursuit. Striking indeed is the happiness we enjoy under our well poised constitution; and this is rendered still more striking when contrasted with the heterogeneous changeling Constitutions of this whimsical age in which we live.

The Assembly here are preparing a spirited address to Congress,<sup>11</sup> demanding a repeal of the Embargo Laws; And today it is also suggested, that if this will not procure the removal of it, they have it in contemplation to bring forward resolutions declaratory of the *Unconstitutionality* of an Embargo for so long a period, and thus to sanction an open opposition to it.

It was intended the *Cuttle* should sail on Sunday; but finding that a Mail from Washington will arrive here on Sunday noon, I have expressed a wish to the Acting Consul, that she should not depart without the Wash[ton] Papers, which I have the promise and which I have left directions to have enclosed to your Excellency.

I shall leave town tomorrow, and proceed without any delay to Washington, as I am anxious to arrive there as soon as possible, I shall fix, as I go on with the consuls, the readiest mode of transmitting my communications to Your Excellency, as it is uncertain, until I reach Washington, how long it may be necessary for me to remain there.

As I have only had one day here, it is at present out of my power to notice particularly any of the Articles contained in Your Excellency's Instructions. But as soon as I have a scope to move in, I will endeavour as far as in my Power, completely to meet Yr. Excellency's wishes.

If the *Bellona* has not sailed for England, I will thank Your Excellency to write a Note, either to Mr. Freeling,<sup>12</sup> or Their Lordships the Post Masters General signifying, that I had at Your desire, again for a short time left the duties of the Post Office.

I have the honor to be etc.

[Sign'd] JOHN HOWE

To

Sir Geo: Prevost Bart.

etc., etc., etc.

[Copy]

[Endorsed:] Copy of a Letter from

Mr. Howe to

Sir Geo: Prevost Bt.

dated BOSTON

16th. Novr. 1808

Reporting his arrival  
at Boston, American Politics etc.

In Sir George Prevost's  
of 30th. Novr.

<sup>11</sup> Text in *American State Papers, Commerce and Navigation*, I. 776-778.

<sup>12</sup> Francis Freeling, secretary to the General Post Office.

## XII. HOWE TO PREVOST.

[A Copy]

WASHINGTON 27 Nov 1808.

*Sir,*

I arrived here on the evening of the 25th. Inst: and immediately waited on Mr. Erskine to whom I delivered my dispatches; he appeared gratified at my arrival, and has assured me of every kind of aid in his power, to enable me to put your Excellency in possession of the actual State of the present Politics of this Country, and the bearing they may ultimately have on Great Britain or her Colonies.

I arrived at Washington, at the very moment when the discussions in Congress have become interesting. Though they have been setting since the 7th. instant nothing material has turned up, more than your Excellency will find in the Papers I enclose. Among these Papers is a Report made by a Committee, to whom was referred that part of the Presidents Message, which concerned their Foreign Relations; to which Report is subjoined several Resolutions which Mr. Erskine, and the most intelligent Men here, are of opinion will be adopted.<sup>13</sup> If these Resolutions are adopted, the Commercial Intercourse of this country with Great Britain and France, will be totally shut up. As the Resolutions which effects the Non Intercourse is expressed in very General terms, Mr. Erskine has found it his duty to enquire of the Government here, if by this Resolution, it is meant to exclude Packets or Vessels coming to him with dispatches, as, if this was the case, he would be compelled to make his bow, and prepare for his departure, he has received assurances that it is not intended to exclude either Packets or Dispatch Vessels, and that the intercourse between the Government, will thus be left open or shut.

Besides the public documents which accompanied the Presidents Message at the opening of Congress, were several of a private nature, and these were read as usual, with closed doors. It is now perfectly understood, that one of these documents, is a Letter from Mr. Armstrong their Minister in France, in which, totally dispairing of any satisfaction to be obtained from the Emperor of France, he recommends that War be declared against France, and that the Commercial Intercourse be thereby opened with England.<sup>14</sup> For two days the house of Representatives has had its doors closed and it is now known that Mr. Randolph has been laboring to have the injunction of Secrecy, as it respects this Letter of Mr. Armstrong, taken off, and that it should be made public. Having failed in some of his first attempts to accomplish this object, he has followed it up with Motion after Motion, and though a final negative was put on the attempt, he has succeeded in a Motion that the Journals which contained his several Motions should be published; and this will give so much publicity to the private proceedings as will indirectly effect his purpose.<sup>15</sup>

The course recommended by Mr. Armstrong is undoubtedly the only wise course they can pursue, and all sensible dispationate Men view it

<sup>13</sup> "Campbell's Report" of November 22. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 259-262.

<sup>14</sup> A heightened statement of Armstrong's letter of August 30. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 256.

<sup>15</sup> See the "Supplemental Journals" of the session.

in that light. The Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, will be taken into Consideration tomorrow. I shall attend the house during this discussion, as the dicission on this Report, and the Resolutions adopted in consequence, will very probably mark the course of politics that will be pursued during this session.

Your Excellency will perceive by the Report of the Committee, that they view themselves as completely environed by difficulties, which are the natural effect of the crooked course of policy they have been pursuing. They have been meanly crouching to France, and they are at present suffering the constant effect of meanness, for it has drawn upon them not only the contempt of France, but of England also, as Mr. Cannings Letter very clearly indicates. The Government here has been very much hurt with Mr. Canning's Letter. Mr. Madison calls it a new kind of Diplomatic Language. It has, however, afforded much gratification to the opposition, and will, I think, on the whole do good, the Government feel more keenly the irony of Mr. Cannings in proportion as they are compelled to own, the impotency of their Embargo System, which was to starve England and her dependencies. To find this omnipotent measure, only treated as a subject of ridicule, is more than their High Mightinesses can bear.

If the Non-Intercourse Law should pass, I do not think it could be so injurious for the coming year, as the Embargo has been in the past, as His Majesty's Government is so well apprised of the Caprice of this Government, that its foresight must have fallen upon Modes of subsisting our Islands, distinct from any dependance on America. If the Non-Intercourse Bill pass I have no doubt, but the Militia now ordered, as well as their armed Vessels, and a number of additional Revenue Cutters; which the Government has applied to Congress for, will be employed to enforce the measure as strictly as possible; and the several regulations of the Bill will subject the violators of it to the severest punishment. But whatever is decided on these subjects, I will lose no time in communicating to your Excellency.

If the Non-Intercourse system should go into effect, and no alteration of Measures on the part of the two Great Belligerents be soon the consequence (and the most sanguine among them do not actually support [suppose] the Measure will produce any alteration) then the universal conclusion here, is, that War with one or both the Belligerents must of course, soon follow. Viewing this therefore, as the final consequence that will result, it becomes an inquiry of importance, against whom are they going so extensively to satisfy [fortify] their Coast and harbours, as the Resolution Contemplates; and against whom is the Military Force now to be arrayed; evidently to be employed. The answers to these Questions, are given by every Man with whom you converse here. They frankly say we cannot if disposed, injure France, nor can she attack us. Her territory is out of our reach, and she has no Commerce on the Ocean. But they say, we can take the British Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; and if War is contemplated, and Mr. Erskine is very sanguine in his opinion, that it will result upon the present measures, then all the Military preparations in this Country can only have references to the British Colonies—of course every measure of precaution on our part, will be wise, while the present uncertain state of

things continue in this Country. It is amusing to hear them talk here of the extreme facility with which they can possess themselves of the British Provinces. No Man of either Party seems to imagine there would be any difficulty in effecting the Object. I think however, should the trial be made, they will, at least, not find the conquest an easy one.

In discussing this subject with Mr. Erskine, and finding his Mind strongly impressed with the idea, that the present state of things will issue in hostility, I have asked his opinion, whether he imagines this hostility will be immediate or remote, in reply to these enquiries he is decidedly of opinion that War will not take place this Winter, and that preparatory and defensive preparations will alone, be determined on this Session of Congress. He thinks they are sensible that their Harbours are at present too defenceless and too open to our attack if they determined on immediate War.

The Militia in many States is very badly organized. In short he is convinced, that the state of their Military preparations is such, that it cannot excite any alarm in Nova Scotia, during the Winter, nor need it retard any Military object your Excellency might have in view that could be accomplished before the spring.

On enquiry of the success which had attended raising the 6000 regular troops, Mr. Erskine informed me, that he had a few days ago, a conversation with General Wilkinson on that subject—that he informed him nearly the whole number was raised, but that many of them were such miserable wretches, he should have infinite difficulty, in bringing them into any state of discipline or order. A detachment of these Troops, but I believe not a large one has already marched to the frontiers of Canada.

On the subject of the probability of hostility I have conversed not only with Mr. Erskine, but with many sensible Men here who have attended Congress daily since its sitting, and I do not find any of them so apprehensive of War, as he appears to be, nor can I, on the whole, quite subscribe to his opinion. It is however the safest side of the question to contemplate, and therefore I have stated more strongly to your Excellency, Mr. Erskine's Opinion. His situation here furnishes him with the best means of information—and there is certainly no lack of Zeal about him to promote H. Majesty's Service.

Mr. Erskine yesterday introduced me to the President with whom we had half an hours conversation. He afterwards called with me on Mr. Madison. Both Gentlemen conducted with much politeness. Mr. Erskine intends inviting Mr. Madison to dinner in a few days, when as I am to be present, I hope to be able to form this Gentleman a more decisive opinion. From the first interview, I own I should give the preference to Mr. Madison, and as there is now no doubt of his being the President for four years to come, I wish if possible, without prejudice, justly to appreciate him. Mr. Erskine is of opinion that Mr. Madison does not at present wish War with Great Britain, and that when left to himself, things may yet ultimately take a better turn than he fears.

There is a British Brig at Baltimore, bound for Halifax, with [which] the British Counsel [Consul] there informs me will sail soon. By her Mr. Erskine intends writing Your Excellency, and I shall imbrace the same opportunity. I forward this to Boston, by an English Gentleman,

who proceeds in the Morning, and expect it will reach Boston in time to go by Kellys Schooner.

I have the honor to be  
 Your Excellencys, Most Obedient  
 Humble Servant  
 JOHN HOWE.

[Endorsed:] In Presidents Crokes<sup>16</sup>  
 7 Jany 1809

[Copy]

### XIII. HOWE TO PREVOST OR CROKE.

*Answers.<sup>17</sup>*

To No. 1 and 2.

I have no hesitation in saying from sources on which I think I can rely, that since the Democratic Party came into power, by the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency which is eight years, that a large Majority from New York to Georgia, have been in favor of Democracy of the grossest kind, and have generally advocated the measures of their Government. Several causes contributed to this Democratic ascendency in the States generally, and in the Southern States in particular: But the most efficient cause of the defeat of the Federal party, was occasioned by a direct system of Taxation, which had taken place, to no great extent, under General Washington's administration, and which had continued under Mr. Adams's. This system had been continued by both, with a view to the increase of the Naval force of the United States, and to the general improvement, even in time of Peace, of the Fortifications, and Military means of defence of the Country.

Whoever is acquainted with American Ideas, must know that nothing is more alarming than the idea of *Direct Taxation*. The Party now in power excited a general alarm throughout the States on this ground. They decried the expenditure of public Money, on Fortifications, Building of Ships, or any other Measures of Military Preparations, as a waste of public Money, and calculated to keep up and increase the direct taxes of the Country. And since this party obtained power, the greater part of the Fortifications have been suffered to go to ruin. They have sold off a great part of their navy, and the remaining ships have been laid up at Washington, where by the little care taken of them, they have been so much injured, as to have ruined some of them, and to have injured the others, so as to have rendered it extremely difficult and expensive to repair them. This wasteful economy has compelled the Government this year, to keep employed in the Dock Yard at Washington only, upwards of 500 Workmen, besides an expensive Naval Yard at New York, and one at Charlestown, near Boston. The immense influx of Foreigners has also contributed to the establishment of the Democratic power in the Southern States, and among this description of persons, has been a large proportion of Emigrants from His Majesty's

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Alexander Croke, judge of the vice-admiralty court, was administrator of Nova Scotia during the temporary absence of the lieutenant-governor, Sir George Prevost.

<sup>17</sup> These are Howe's answers to Prevost's queries, no. X. above. The queries are repeated in the manuscript, but omitted here. The answers were sent either to Prevost or to Croke as his *locum tenens*.

dominions in Ireland. There are in New York 7 or 8000 of these people. In Philadelphia the number is greater, and the number dispersed through the State of Pennsylvania is estimated at more than four times the number in the Capital. At Baltimore they are overrun with this description of Men. The enmity of these Foreigners to Great Britain is kept alive at Philadelphia, by Duane an Irishman, Printer of the Aurora, who possesses abilities, and is supposed to be in French pay. As far as respects Foreigners the resentment which the American War left on the Minds of Men, and which is not yet eradicated, is often a predisposing cause, which when any new circumstance of irritation arises, is immediately resorted to by the party opposed to Great Britain. The Assistance which France rendered in that War is also resorted to. An attachment to the New order of things in France, of which Mr. Jefferson largely partook, has also predominated throughout the States, and interested them in favor of France, until the receipt of the last dispatches from Mr. Armstrong. These have led to a different way of talking about France, even among the different Members of Mr. Jefferson's Cabinet. This change of opinion, as it respects France is beginning to appear openly in the Speeches of the Government Leaders in Congress. Since the Democratic Party obtained their power in this Country, they have by a variety of artifices retained that influence. Every Federalist has been turned out of Office, and Democrats appointed in their Stead. All taxes which could be dispensed with have been withdrawn; and as the Trade which Mr. Jay's Treaty secured to them has been uncommonly productive, though originally abused by the present party in power, their Revenue, which results from Trade, has furnished an overflowing Treasury, and has rendered it unnecessary to resort to direct taxation.

Among other Artifices the present party have resorted to for perpetuating their power is the following: In the State of New York, as soon as the Democrats had obtained a Majority, on the first meeting of their Legislature, they arranged a New division of their Counties, to give decisive effect to their future Elections. In doing this they took from some Counties where there was an overflow of Democracy, and added these Democrats to counties where Federation prevailed. By means like these they consolidated their power in that State, and have thereby made the most unnatural Division of the State that could possibly be conceived. By the immense number of Foreigners which have been collected in the new settlements they have been enabled the more easily to effect those objects. Another cause which gives a fatal preponderance to the Democratic party, is the perpetual recurrence to Elections. So universal is the Elective Suffrage, that Property and Talents are continually made to give way, to those who have neither the one nor the other. Indeed, Men of property and talents have been so annoyed by the servile means necessary to obtain power, and by the violence and licentiousness connected with it, that they are generally shrinking from the Scenee. This last observation was rendered very striking to me while attending congress, which in point of Talents is far inferior to any Congress they have had since their independence. It has not been in my power to collect; with that accuracy I could wish, the names of the Leaders generally; but to the Causes above stated, more than to particular men themselves, are to be attributed the general Democratic ascendency.

## To No. 3.

In Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia, two thirds are Democrats. This opinion is warranted by the last Election. The same proportion was last year to be found in Maryland, but in that State the Embargo has operated a change in their house of Representatives this Year, which has given a Federal Majority of five. In the Lower Counties of Delaware, more than two thirds are Federal. In Pennsylvania this Year, their Elections have produced a Democratic Majority of more than two thirds. In New Jersey there is this year a considerable Majority in favor of Democracy, but not equal to the Majority of last Year. The New York Elections taking place in the Spring Months, the Federalists lost their Election of State Officers by a Majority of about 1,000. This however was a great gain, as the Majority of the last Year was upwards of 5000 in favor of Democracy. A great change, is, however taking place in the public opinion in that State. The number of Federal votes in the State of New York, for president, when Mr. Jefferson was elected, was only 18; in the present election it was 45. Though outvoted by the — Democratic electors, the gain under all circumstances was considered great. In Connecticut, more than two thirds have been always Federal. This Year their Majority has been greater than ever. In Rhode Island, where Democracy prevailed last year, all their Elections have been Federal by a large Majority. In Massachusetts Democracy, two years ago, obtained a small Majority; this Year the Federalists have gained in the Senate and the house, a Majority of one third. The next elections will be more decisively Federal. In New Hampshire, where for several Years Democracy has prevailed, there is this Year a considerable Federal Majority. In the State of Vermont, the same change has taken place; and Federalism is daily increasing in that State. In the choice of Electors for President by that State lately, there was a Democratic Majority of 4 or 5: But Mr. Lyon<sup>18</sup> explained the reason of it in Congress, to be this: In some of the States the choice of Electors is by general Ticket or Suffrage. In Vermont it is by Districts. This enabled some Districts which have in them so little population, (that he resembled them to old Sarum) to give the same Votes, as the most populous Districts of that State, and in this way he said, this small Majority had been obtained, directly in opposition to the General Voice. The State of Tennessee is generally Democratic.

## To No. 4.

The Federalists generally wish a reconciliation with Great Britain. A large proportion of them from a preference to Great Britain, and others from a conviction that their commercial Interests will be more effectually promoted by a connection with Great Britain, than with any other nation. The Talents and Wealth of America, are almost invariably to be found in this party. There may be exceptions to this last remark, in some measure, as it respects the States South of Pennsylvania. As the feelings of the Federalists are generally in favor of a reconciliation with Great Britain, so, on the contrary the feelings of the Democrats, with few exceptions, have been, until the late Dispatches from Mr. Armstrong, in favor of France. These Dispatches have already had considerable effect, and it now rests with His Majesty's Government if it pleases to give a more powerful effect to this new operative cause.

<sup>18</sup> Matthew Lyon, at this time (1803-1811) member of the House of Representatives from Kentucky, but formerly (1797-1801) from Vermont.

## To No. 5.

The Election of President has created a partial division in the Democratic party; some adhering to Monroe, and some to Clinton; This division of Sentiment might by the Federalists, have been improved to advantage, by joining with either of the opposing Candidates; but that party had so little confidence in either of them, that they preferred voting for the Candidates, they respected, though they knew their votes would be thrown away.

## To No. 6.

The Federal Party on the divisions of the House of Representatives, while I attended Congress, were about 26 to 87. The last Elections will increase the Federal Party in congress to 60 or upwards. The States where the change of Politics has occasioned this difference are already noticed in the answer to No. 3. The causes are chiefly to be attributed in those States to the extreme pressure and impolicy of the Embargo System; to the fear that direct taxes must soon be resorted to, if that System continues, and in many instances, to the shameful conduct of Bonaparte in his treatment of Spain and portugal; and to an approbation of the conduct of Great Britain in the honorable assistance she has afforded to those Nations. In the Eastern States the universal feeling is warm for the Success of the Spaniards.

## To No. 7.

The first branch of this Question is answered by the above observations. As far as respects a third Party in Congress, Mr. Randolph appears to have a sort of influence over about 8 or 9 of the Members. This Gentleman possesses a strong independent mind, is a correct and interesting Speaker, and always listened to with much attention. But he has too full a consciousness of his own powers, and so thorough a contempt for the greater part of the House, that he mixes very little with them, and turns his talents to so little political purpose, as to render them nearly useless. This may in part arise from his extreme feeble habit of body, which often seems too weak to sustain him long.

## To No. 8.

The President for the ensuing four Years will undoubtedly be Mr. Madison. From the Diplomatic correspondence in which this Gentleman has been engaged for years, no change of politics was to be expected. But from the late conferences of Mr. Erskine with Mr. Madison, and other persons, who from some late reconciliations between them will undoubtedly form his Cabinet, hopes may reasonably be entertained that they have become convinced that a change of system may make his Presidency much more comfortable to himself, and more popular than the present course they are pursuing; and which they candidly say, cannot be much longer continued. The late Letters received from France have exceedingly mortified them, and strengthened their desire for a reconciliation with Great Britain. Among other Measures brought forward by the Government Party in Congress, which strengthened my hopes as to a change of conduct was a Resolution offered to the House to exclude all Foreign Seamen from Naturalization in the United States.<sup>19</sup> This resolution was received by the House, and will form a clause in a New Naturalization Bill now before Congress.

<sup>19</sup> *House Journal*, December 17, 1808.

## To No. 9.

As far as respects Mr. Jefferson, the President, though he has had a full share of mortification, which the late letters from General Armstrong, are calculated to produce, yet was he to remain in power, I do not believe, that either Mr. Erskine, or any person with whom I conversed, (and I had conversation with some of the most excellent Characters in the District of Columbia, who are thoroughly acquainted with the parties) would have any confidence in a change for the better.

## To No. 10.

This Question is fully answered in the Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and in the Documents laid before congress.

## To No. 11.

The Cause of France is now abandoned by the Speakers on both sides the House. They are learning a New Lesson; and though some of them recite it badly, they now disavow all friendly feeling towards her.

## To No. 12.

When Speaking of the means of annoying Great Britain, no other ideas are ever suggested by the Advocates of the Government, but the Non Intercourse System, or War. The friends of Great Britain in America, are anxiously wishing that the Orders in Council may be repealed, and a commercial intercourse opened. They are alarmed at the prominent features of the measures their Government is pursuing, and are afraid they will irritate our Nation, and shut the Door to reconciliation.

## To No. 13.

This Question is answered by reference to the late conferences of Mr. Erskine.

## To No. 14.

The events in Spain and Portugal have had much effect on American Politics. Had Bonaparte succeeded in obtaining quiet possession of Spain, and the Spanish colonies had submitted to his sway, this Government would long since have pushed America into a War with Great Britain, though every sensible man in the Country, viewed their own destruction as connected with the dominion of France over the Spanish Colonies, by bringing so mischievous a power into their neighbourhood. The late events in Spain have saved this Government for the present, from the mischievous effects of their own politics. It is highly to the honor of the federal party in this Country, that they have continually rejoiced in the Spirit which the Spanish Nation has shewn, and that they received with manifest exultation every account of their success. These people wish a commercial intercourse with Spain and Portugal; and they are afraid, if a reconciliation does not take place between Great Britain and America, that the influence of our Government with Spain and Portugal, will occasion their exclusion from the trade of those Colonies. The renewed Commercial connection of Great Britain with these Countries, has had the best effect in America, in convincing them of the folly of their Embargo, and the perfect imbecility of all their attempts to injure Great Britain. It has also excited a strong fear for the safety of Louisiana, least we should stimulate the Span-

iards to retake a territory they have been so shamefully swindled out of. I was present, when in their Speeches in Congress, they expressed their strong fears that Sir George Prevost's Expedition was destined for that Quarter.<sup>20</sup>

To No. 15.

Mr. Foronda has arrived at Washington, accredited by the Spanish Junta, as Charge D'Affaires to Ferdinand the 7th. He has presented his credentials to the American Government, but when I left Washington, he had obtained no answer from Mr. Jefferson whether he would be received, or refused. Some of the Consuls under the old Government still remain in the States, not knowing what course to pursue. But by an arrival from Bordeaux, of the 2nd November it appears that an Ambassador, appointed by Joseph Buonaparte was at Bonaparte's Levee, before he proceeded for Spain, and was soon to proceed to America. Should he arrive it will place the American Government in an embarrassed situation.<sup>21</sup>

To No. 16.

Great apprehensions are excited for the Safety of Louisiana. A part of the new Levee of 6,000 Men has been sent to that Quarter; and an additional number, sufficient to make the whole regular force lately sent, amount to 2,000 men, were in a few days to March to Baltimore, where Transports were taken up to convey them by water to New Orleans. It was supposed that General Wilkinson, who was at Washington was to go with them.

To No. 17.

The best regular data to judge of the proportion of suffering of the respective States, are to be found in the calculations contained in the Speeches of Mr. Quincy, Mr. Pickering, Mr. Hillhouse, Mr. White and Mr. Lloyd, all of whom have taken great pains to ascertain this Subject.<sup>22</sup> The pressure of this ill judged measure has been felt severely in every part of the Union; however the Eastern States which have been so largely concerned in Shipping, and had by their enterprize obtained the largest proportion of the carrying trade, are the severest sufferers: And if our Government should not be disposed to let them out of their own Trap, and the Government of America should continue the present system, not a doubt can be entertained, but that a separation of the Eastern States will ensue. If the answer of our Government should not meet the wishes of the ruling Party, they will then endeavour to preserve the Union by plunging the Country into a War with Great Britain, in hopes that a sense of common danger, will excite a unanimity, they will have no other means of effecting.

<sup>20</sup> Prevost had gone with forces from Halifax to take part in the capture of Martinique.

<sup>21</sup> Valentin de Foronda, chargé d'affaires, had presented his credentials July 7, 1807. He took his leave by letter in October, 1809. No representative of King Joseph was received. Don Luis de Onis, accredited by the Junta, arrived in October, 1809, but could not secure recognition till 1815.

<sup>22</sup> Speech of Josiah Quincy in the House of Representatives, November 28, 1808; and of Senators Pickering, Hillhouse, White, and Lloyd, on November 30, 21, 22, and 25, respectively, in the debates on Hillhouse's resolutions for repealing the embargo.

To No. 18.

If the Embargo and non importation Acts were to continue as they have done the past year, Great Britain might countervail the mischiefs of the Non-Importation System, by prohibiting the importation of all Articles that Acts permits. These Articles are all of the first necessity and many of the Manufactures they have established in the Country, could not be carried on without those very Articles, by means of which they are enabled to support them. But if the Non Intercourse System takes place, and even War should not ensue, then no restrictive Acts would be necessary on our part.

To No. 19.

The Embargo will not continue longer than the Spring, or until the Non Intercourse Supercedes it. If the Non-Intercourse should take place, as it respects both Great Britain and France, it is still uncertain whether by repealing the Embargo Laws, they will open their Trade to Spain, Portugal and other Powers they suppose friendly to them, as they, in all their Speeches in Congress say, that the Belligerents would in this way indirectly obtain all the Supplies, the Non Intercourse Law was intended to withhold from them. That the motive which induced the American Government to impose the Embargo, was a hostile one to Great Britain, and a Servile compliance with the wishes of Bonaparte, no sensible man in America entertains a doubt.

To No. 20.

The whole policy of Bonaparte has been to involve America in a War with Great Britain. And had not the late changes in Spain have taken place, he would before this time have effected his object.

To No. 21.

I am at present satisfied, that Mr. Madison, and those who are to compose his Cabinet, do not at present think it will be for their Interest to be at War with Great Britain. They consider themselves as sure of their offices for four Years; and I am convinced from many circumstances, that they would at present prefer a War with France, to War with England. They are satisfied they must have a contest with one or the other, and they seem to have become sensible that a friendly intercourse with Great Britain, will do them the most good, and that a War with our Nation will do them the most injury!

To No. 22.

Mad as Parties are in America, I do not think, that a Majority of the Population wish a War with Great Britain. The warmest among them, will frankly own, they do not see any benefit they could obtain by it.

To No. 23.

If our Government remove the Orders in Council, reconciliation will ensue. If they do not we shall probably go to War.

To No. 24.

It will be seen by reference to the Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and the Documents, that nothing which America views as conciliatory, has turned up since the last Session of Congress.

To No. 25.

The Documents above referred to furnish the best views of American feeling on this Subject.

To No. 26.

If the present American System continues, and War does not ensue, it would be wise in our Government, totally to prohibit all Neutral Trade with our Colonies, if we find we can do entirely without their supplies. Their most intelligent Merchants, are trembling with apprehension lest the impolitic Measures of their Government, should drive our Government to it. Justice to Quebec, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick require that Our Government should, as far as possible adopt this System, and the rapid manner in which these valuable Colonies are progressing, with the other immense resources of Great Britain, must soon place all her dependencies out of the reach of the Caprice of America, or any other Country.

To No. 27.

The Common regular force of America Amounts to about 4,000 Men. This force has been chiefly employed since the Peace in the Garrison on the Frontiers, or in Forts situated at the entrance of the principal Harbours. Congress last Year passed an act to add 6,000 Men to the Regular forces of the Country; 3,500 of these Men have been raised. Recruiting Parties are employed throughout the States, endeavouring to raise the remainder. But they meet with no great success; and it is not probable that they will, in another Year raise the whole number. The 3,000 lately raised, are the greater part quite undisciplined, and it will take much time to bring them into Military Order.

To No. 28.

It was suggested before I left Washington, that it had been in the contemplation of the Government, to apply to Congress for an Addition of 20,000 Men to the regular force of the Country. I do not however believe that this measure will be immediately proposed, unless it should be to empower the Government provisionally to raise them, as a political manoeuvre. They cannot easily raise in America any great body of regular Troops.

To No. 29.

Answered by the subjoined Table No. 1. which is generally supposed very accurate.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The materials for this table seem to have been those from which is composed the table printed in *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I. 200-203, but there are not a few errors.

No. I. OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE MILITIA OF THE UNITED STATES BY THE LATEST RETURNS.

States.	Divisions.	Brigades.	Regiments.	Total Artiller- y.	Total Cavalry.	Total Infantry.	Muskets and Rifles.	Breeches-ordn.	Calibre, from 12 to 2 lbs.	Barrels.	Pairs of Pts. to ls.
New Hampshire.....	1805	3	6	34	46	1,629	21,168	23,259	12,520	18	1,808
Massachusetts.....	1805	10	22	83	2,639	2,690	61,502	66,821	46,615	129	2,387
Rhode-Island.....	1803	1	4	11	121	87	5,127	5,333	3,052	4	87
Connecticut.....	1805	4	8	33	677	1,637	18,621	20,935	15,085	21	1,965
Vermont.....	1805	4	10	31	408	1,263	16,510	18,181	3,824	3	1,048
New-York.....	1804	7	31	108	1,405	2,113	73,318	76,836	41,947	29	1,431
New-Jersey.....	1805	4	6	38	72	1,197	25,327	26,696	12,509	—	1,344
Pennsylvania.....	1803	14	28	130	409	2,840	93,192	96,448	29,114	7	381
Virginia.....	1805	3	16	84	1,365	3,549	68,884	73,798	13,224	2	1,583
North-Carolina.....	1805	5	12	50	—	291	42,665	42,956	18,914	—	333
South-Carolina.....	1802	2	9	40	911	2,970	32,742	35,723	12,878	17	71
Georgia.....	1805	3	7	—	101	721	18,572	19,397	3,737	6	1,057
Kentucky.....	1805	5	12	54	—	—	33,176	33,176	19,533	—	239
Tennessee.....	1805	2	6	20	—	—	16,992	16,863	4,647	—	95
Ohio.....	1805	3	5	14	—	—	15,963	15,976	3,515	—	30
Maryland.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30,190	7,000	—	—
Total, ... .....	70	182	754	3,660	21,876	542,857	60,585	258,114	236	13,226	11,845

This incomplete return contains about one half of the Militia, and near one fourth of the fire arms in the United States.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> It is not known what basis there can have been for this statement.

To No. 30.

The President has ordered 100,000 of the Militia to be selected, armed and equipped for actual Service, to be ready at a moment's warning. This draft has been generally complied with. But the general State of Equipment is very incomplete indeed.

To No. 31.

Answered by the above.

To No. 32.

One of the New raised Regiments commanded by Colonel Symonds, has marched to the Frontiers of Canada. But except drafting there has been no movement of any part of the Militia. The Persons who compose the Militia are of all Parties, and taken indiscriminately from all Parts of the Country.

To No. 33.

Answered by Table No. 2 subjoined.<sup>25</sup>

To No. 34.

The following is a complete List of the Navy of the United States.

<i>Frigates</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Brigs</i>	<i>Guns</i>
President .....	44.	lately repaired and	
United States..	44.	fit for service.	
Constitution ..	44.	fit for sea.	
Chesapeake ..	44.	At sea on the Coast.	
Constellation ..	36.		
Congress .....	36.		
New York.....	36.	All lately repaired	
Essex .....	32.	and now fit for	
Adams .....	32.	Service.	
John Adams...	32.		
		<i>Schooners</i>	
		Nautilus .....	12 Guns
		Enterprize ..	12 "
		Vixen .....	12 "
		<i>Bombs</i>	
		Two.	

Boston ..... 32. Unserviceable.  
Wasp Sloop a Ship of 20 Guns in Service.

*Gun Boats*  
100 and upwards.

This Naval force might be suddenly increased by the purchase of Merchant Vessels, many of which might be rendered very useful.

To No. 35.

The Principal Naval Arsenals of the United States are at Washington, New York and at Charlestown near Boston. There are smaller Establishments at Charlestown South Carolina, at New Port Rhode Island, and at Portsmouth New Hampshire. There is also a Naval Establishment at Gosport near Norfolk. There are considerable Depots of Military Stores in all the States, some of these are in the Capital Seaports of the States, but in General they are at a distance from the

<sup>25</sup> Perhaps this was the table which appears in *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I. 192-196.

Sea. There is a large Establishment about 10 Miles on the road from Philadelphia to Baltimore. I passed another where there is also an extensive Manufactory of Arms in Springfield Massachusetts. There are considerable quantities of Arms manufactured in the State of Pennsylvania. There is Cannon Foundry at Harper's Ferry on the Potomac, One, two Miles above George Town, and a very extensive one carried on by a Colonel Hughes near the Ferry on the Susquehannah. These Foundaries have for more than a year been all employed in executing large contracts for Cannon of all descriptions for the Government. They are still briskly employed in the same manner. The Government are in short, employing all the Manufacturers of Arms in the Country, to increase as much as possible its warlike implements. Men have been voted to man their little Navy, and Salt Provisions for victualling the Ships have been contracted for at New York, and other Places.

To No. 36.

In conversing, which I had a full opportunity of doing, with men of all parties among them, on the Measures America would pursue, if a contest took place between our Countries, I found the universal opinion to be, that an attack on Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia would immediately ensue; and they consider all the Military preparations they are making as designed for these ends. For they say, France is out of their reach, and they cannot attack her. Against these Colonies therefore alone, all their Military array is expressly pointed. The Conquest of Canada, they contemplate as a matter perfectly easy; and whenever they speak of it they build much on the disposition of the Canadians as friendly to them. They reckon also, on a ready welcome from a number of Americans who have of late years become Settlers in Upper Canada. And this last circumstance at least, may well lead His Majestys Government to consider, whether it is politic to admit as settlers near the Frontiers, men of this description.

They are more at a loss, as Nova Scotia is so much surrounded by Water, to consider the best Mode of attacking it, but do not seem to doubt their ability to effect it. Men of all parties think if a War should ensue, that the Conquest of these Colonies is certain:— Precautionary Measures of every kind are therefore highly necessary.

[Endorsed:] In Sr. G. Prevost  
19 May 1809